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ABSTRACT

This sociolinguistic study investigated the hypothesis that the Indonesian language (IL) is encroaching upon Banjarese Malay (BM), focusing on the fact that these two related languages form a diglossic situation, whereby IL performs the high function and BM performs the low function. Surveys of Banjarese people collected demographic data and assessed their agreement or disagreement with 10 statements (e.g., BM is a beautiful language, BM is the caretaker of a high culture, BM should be developed on a continuous basis, and BM should be taught in schools in regions where the majority of people are Banjarese). Respondents also indicated which language they used at home when speaking about day-to-day affairs with family members of all generations. Researchers conducted observations in people's homes and around the city. Structured interviews investigated whether or not the observed people were Banjarese, what language they spoke at home, and whether their children spoke BM. Results indicated that Banjarese was almost always used in the home. To some degree, IL had encroached upon BM within the home. Though there were signs that BM was withstanding the encroachment, there were also signs that the resistance was being perforated. (SM)

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INDONESIAN AND BANJARESE MALAY AMONG BANJARESE ETHNICS IN BANJARMASIN CITY: A CASE OF DIGLOSSIA LEAKAGE?

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1. Introduction

The objective of this paper is to present the results of a sociolinguistic research study, the goal of which was to seek some empirical evidence which would corroborate or refute a hypothesis that the Indonesian language (IL) is encroaching upon Banjarese Malay (BM), as is the case with many local languages in Indonesia. The approach of this study is sociological in that the sociological notion of domain put forward by Fishman (1972) is used as a point of departure. On the basis that IL and BM form a diglossic situation, the home (family) domain is singled out in this study, the reason being that whether or not the High language is encroaching upon the Low language can, as a rule, be detected from language choice in this domain, often regarded as the last bastion of the maintenance of the subordinate language.

The main corpus of data for this study was extracted from the answers of the respondents by means of a survey questionnaire. In anticipation of the inadequate number of the questionnaires returned, the survey questionnaire was triangulated with non-participant observations and interviews, both face-to-face interviews and telephone survey ones.

The presentation of the results of the study centres upon language attitude and language choice, the assumption being that there is correlation between them: a negative attitude towards a language would give rise to the language not being chosen for communication purposes and would therefore result in it being eventually abandoned by its native speakers.

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I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Ms Nilasari Darmansyah, M.A. and Dr. Darmansyah, members of Lambung Mangkurat University, and their students for their generous assistance in collecting field data. The same expression of gratitude goes to Dr. Djantera Kawi, South Kalimantan Office Director of the National Language Centre and to the Dean of the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Lambung Mangkurat University, and Mr. Abdurrahman of the same faculty, for their generous assistance at providing facilities in the data collection. I also wish to thank my respondents, observation subjects and interviewees, without whose help this paper could never have been written.

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2. Banjarese Malay

Banjarese Malay (BM), which is often referred to as *bahasa Banjar* (the Banjarese language) by Banjarese people, is spoken by about 80% of the 2,629,257 inhabitants of the 3,753,052-hectare South Kalimantan Province (Ahsan, 1996). It is the intergroup language of the various ethnic groups in South Kalimantan and East Kalimantan. With such a vast territory of language use, the existence of dialects is natural. Two main dialects have been identified, namely *bahasa Banjar Kuala* (Upstream Banjarese) and *bahasa Banjar Hulu* (Downstream Banjarese) (Hapip, 1976: v), the latter being comprised of Banjarmasin subdialect and Martapura-Pleihari subdialect (Hapip, 1978: 25, as quoted by Suryadikara *et al.* (1981: 2)).

BM, like IL, are technically dialects of Malay proper. As such there are similarities between these two codes. There are distinct differences, needless to say, between them. However, the similarities are so regular that BM spoken at a normal rate would not be unintelligible to someone who speaks IL. What is important to this study, however, is not the similarities or differences between these two codes; rather it is the fact that these two related varieties form a diglossic situation, whereby IL performs the High function and BM the Low function. This is evident, for instance, from the fact that the former is used in the high domains, whereas the latter in the low domains. The fact that the use of IL connotes High and that the use of BM connotes Low can be inferred from the response of a Banjarese upon hearing a fellow Banjarese using IL to him, saying *"Makan bekacak saja pakai bahasa Indonesia"* ("Eating using hands – not a fork and a spoon – how come he speaks Indonesian?") (Ahsan, 2001, personal communication).

3. Data Collection

3.1 *Survey Questionnaire*

As alluded to earlier, a part of the data corpus for this study was collected by means of a survey questionnaire. In addition to personal data, including information on age group (with an interval of ten years), sex, education level, and residence (i.e. Banjarmasin city centre or its outskirts), respondents were asked to rate their (dis)agreements to ten statements on a five-point Likert type scale, on the basis of which their attitude towards BM was measured. It would have been more accurate to use a matched guise technique for this purpose. However, in consideration of the cumbersome nature of this technique, it was decided to use the Likert technique instead, the objective being simple: to get a picture of what the attitude of Banjarese people is generally like towards their language. What may be worth mentioning is that this rating scale was validated before being used, and therefore its validity was augmented. (For the translation of the statements and the rating scale, see Figure 1.)

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Statement	Rating				
(1) BM is a beautiful language.					
(2) BM is the caretaker of a high culture.					
(3) As a Banjarese, I am proud to be able to speak BM.					
(4) All efforts should be made to preserve BM.					
(5) I feel good when someone speaks BM to me.					
(6) I like speaking BM to other Banjarese.					
(7) BM should be developed on a continuous basis.					
(8) BM should be taught in schools in regions where the majority of the people are Banjarese.					
(9) The government should be more active in developing BM.					
(10) A campaign is imperative to use BM at home among members of a Banjarese family.					

Figure 1. Ten statements designed to elicit respondents' rating of language attitude

Respondents were also asked to indicate what language (i.e. IL and/or BM) they used at home when speaking about day-to-day affairs with family members of the descending and ascending generation. Their language choice was quantified as follows:

(1) (Almost) always BM: 5
(2) More BM than IL: 4
(3) BM and IL about the same frequency: 3
(4) More IL than BM: 2
(5) (Almost) always IL: 1

A total of 130 copies of the survey questionnaire was distributed to Banjarmasin Banjarese residents. A total of 98 completed questionnaires was returned.

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3.2 *Observations*

The observations, which were non-participant, were made by the researcher and by field assistants, namely Lambung Mangkurat University students who assisted in collecting observation data. For these observations, an observation sheet was provided, which was designed to facilitate note taking: the observer simply ticked the multiple choice items of observations such as location of observation (i.e. the city centre or the outskirts), who speaks to whom, the approximate age group of each of the interlocutors, the topic of the speech event observed (i.e. day-to-day or non-day-to-day affairs), the level of education of the interlocutors (if known), their kinship relations (i.e. kin or non-kin) and, more importantly, the languages the interlocutors used (classified as in the foregoing point 2.1).

To avoid the observer's paradox to the op'imum, observers were told to make observations as surreptitiously as possible.

For the purpose of the observations, assistant observers were given a general guide and asked to observe their own homes or else they were asked to visit the homes of their relatives or those of their friends. As for the researcher himself, he was only able to visit public places such as the floating market on Barito River, the Villages of Kuin, Alalak, Kampung Melayu, and the Pasar Lama (Old Market) on the bank of Martapura River. One disadvantage of these observations by the researcher was that he was only able to observe speech events involving Banjarese people who were in the low brackets of the social ladder. One advantage, however, was that the visits to public places provided him with ample opportunities to interview people.

All in all, 47 observation sheets, involving 135 subjects, were completed and returned by field assistants. The observation sheets completed by the researcher himself totalled 19, involving 54 Banjarese individuals.

3.3 *Interviews*

The interview was a structured one and was done by the researcher himself. Most of the interviews were unrecorded in consideration of the possibility of the sight of the tape recording being intimidating and/or causing suspicion. Mostly, it was a short and quick interview, similar to Labov's (1966) quick and spontaneous interview. Questions centred on (1) whether or not the observed person was Banjarese and (2) what language he or she would use at home, and (3) whether their children, if any, were able to speak BM. The reason for asking these questions was to find out whether intergeneration mother tongue continuity (Fishman, 1991) prevailed in Banjarese homes.

In addition to the face-to-face interviews (17 all in all), 9 interviews were telephone interviews.

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4. Findings and Discussion

With 98 survey respondents, 135 observation subjects and 26 interviewees, the data for this study were in fact collected on the basis of the bits of information obtained from 259 individuals, almost all of whom were Banjarese.

4.1 *Language Attitude*

The computation of the mean score of the language attitude, elicited by means of the survey questionnaire, yields an overall figure of 4.155, which suggests that on the whole Banjarese have a highly positive attitude towards BM. On a scale of 1 to 5, the mean scores of attitude, overall and statement by statement, are as presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Mean scores of respondents' (N=98) attitude towards BM and towards its breakdown

No.	Description	Mean Score
1.	Attitude towards BM in general	4.155
2.	BM = beautiful language	3.729
3.	BM = caretaker of high culture	4.163
4.	Pride in being able to speak BM	4.639
5.	Endeavours to preserve BM	4.551
6.	Feeling good to be spoken to in BM	4.278
7.	Feeling good to speak BM with other Banjarese	4.388
8.	BM needs to be developed	3.959
9.	BM = a school subject	4.102
10.	Campaign to speak BM at home	3.388
11.	Government to be more active in developing BM	4.347

As can be seen, the lowest mean score is the respondents' attitude towards statement 10 (the need to launch a speak-BM campaign at home), i.e. 3.388, probably suggesting that Banjarese find it unnecessary as BM is "alive and kicking" in their homes.

In this regard it may be worth noting that the difference in language attitude in terms of sex is significant in that at the level of confidence α=0.05, the probability figure resulting from the chi-square computation, the value being 10.006, is very low (i.e. 0.019) (See Figure 2). Assuming that the female respondents in this study are all mothers, or at least mothers-to-be, the finding that female respondents have a more positive attitude toward BM can be interpreted as implying a better chance of BM being maintained by Banjarese. The rationale is that a more positive attitude would lead to a better chance of BM in being used in the home domain and, by further implication, would provide better chances for children to be more exposed to BM.

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Frequency Percent Row Pct Col Pct	2	3	4	5	Total
Female	6 6.25 10.34 66.67	17 17.71 29.31 65.38	30 31.25 51.72 69.77	5 5.21 8.62 27.78	58 60.42
Male	3 3.12 7.89 33.33	9 9.38 23.68 34.62	13 13.54 34.21 30.23	13 13.54 34.21 72.22	38 39.58
Total	9 9.38	26 27.08	43 44.79	18 18.75	96 100.00

Frequency Missing = 2

Statistics for Table of Sex by X21

Statistics	DF	Value	Prob
Chi-square	3	10.008	0.019

Figure 2. Facsimile of the results of the chi-square computation of language attitude in terms of sex (α=0.05)

Unfortunately, however, that positive implication runs counter with the result of the statistical analysis of the language attitude in terms of age. As can be inferred in Figure 3, there is a significant difference in attitude in terms of age; the probability figure at α=0.05, is very small (0.005) and the chi-square value is big (33.653). Moreover, the figures become smaller as the age becomes younger, suggesting that attitude towards BM tends to become less positive among younger Banjarese.

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Frequency Percent Row Pct Col Pct	2	3	4	5	Total
≤20	7	7	14	3	31
	7.29	7.29	14.58	3.12	32.29
	22.58	22.58	45.16	9.68	
	77.78	26.92	32.56	16.67	
21-30	2	12	8	2	24
	2.08	12.50	8.33	2.08	25.00
	8.33	50.00	33.33	8.33	
	22.22	46.15	18.60	11.11	
31-40	0	3	19	10	32
	0.00	3.12	19.79	10.42	33.33
	0.00	9.38	59.38	31.25	
	0.00	11.54	44.19	55.56	
41-50	0	2	2	3	7
	0.00	2.08	2.08	3.12	7.29
	0.00	28.57	28.57	42.86	
	0.00	7.69	4.65	16.67	
51-60	0	2	0	0	2
	0.00	2.08	0.00	0.00	2.08
	0.00	100.00	0.00	0.00	
	0.00	7.69	0.00	0.00	
Total	9	26	43	18	96
	9.38	27.08	44.79	18.75	100.00

Frequency Missing = 2

Statistics for Table of Age by X21

Statistics	DF	Value	Prob
Chi-square	12	33.653	0.001

Figure 3. Facsimile of the results of the chi-square computation of language attitude in terms of age (α=0.05)

Likewise, the result of the statistical analysis of the language attitude in terms of education does not seem to augur very well for the choice of BM in the home or family domain. The inference drawn from Figure 4 is that the higher the education of a Banjarese, the less positive attitude he or she has towards BM. In the near future it does not seem to have a negative impact on the use of BM. However, in the long run, it may have some bearing on the shift or maintenance of BM among Banjarese.

As can be seen in Figure 4, the differences in the attitude towards BM are significant in terms of education level at α=0.05 (chi-square value=20.842; probability=0.002).

Frequency Percent Row Pct Col Pct	2	3	4	5	Total
D_3 (1 to 3-year univ. prog.)	0 0.00 0.00 0.00	4 4.17 11.11 15.38	20 20.83 55.56 46.51	12 12.50 33.33 66.67	36 37.50
S_1, S_2 (BA, MA)	0 0.00 0.00 0.00	2 2.08 66.67 7.69	1 1.04 33.33 2.33	0 0.00 0.00 0.00	3 3.12
SMU / SLTA (Senior High)	9 9.38 15.79 100.00	20 20.83 35.09 76.92	22 22.92 38.60 51.16	6 6.25 10.53 33.33	57 59.38
Total	9 9.38	26 27.08	43 44.79	18 18.75	96 100.00

Frequency Missing = 2

Statistics for Table of Educ by X21

Statistics	DF	Value	Prob
Chi-square	6	20.842	0.002

Figure 4. Facsimile of the results of the chi-square computation of language attitude in terms of education level (α=0.05)

In terms of residence, i.e. whether a Banjarese lives in the city centre or in the outskirts of Banjarmasin, the difference in language attitude is not significant, the chi-square value at α=0.05 being 5.743 and the probability figure 0.125.

4.2 *Language Choice*

4.2.1 Survey questionnaire

The computation of the overall mean score of language choice in the home domain yields a figure of 4.602. The rating scale of language choice being 1 to 5 (5=always or almost always BM and 4=more BM than IL), the mean score suggests that BM is used much more frequently than IL in the family domain. This augurs well for BM maintenance, although a mean score of 5 or in its neighbourhood would guarantee that no or very little shift of BM would take place.

Table 2 shows the mean scores of language choice by respondents in the family domain as a whole and when speaking to family members.

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Table 2. Mean scores of language choice about day-to-day affairs by respondents' (N=98) elicited via the survey questionnaire

No.	Description	Mean Score
1.	Overall	4.602
2.	When speaking to children at home	4.191
3.	When speaking to parents, uncles, aunts etc	4.670
4.	When speaking to grandparents etc	4.747
5.	When speaking to siblings	4.111

As can be inferred from Table 2, the lowest mean score (4.111) is found with regard to language choice among siblings. A score of 4 signifying that BM and IL are used, the former more frequently than the latter, a score of 4.111 seems to suggest that among siblings IL is beginning to encroach upon the use of BM at home. All of the figures in Table 2 even suggest that the IL-BM diglossic situation is not very tightly compartmentilised: there is a sign of leakage which, if unchecked, can sow the seeds of BM shift.

In terms of age, the ANOVA and Duncan's Multiple Range Test yield results as presented in Figure 5. This figure shows that there is a significant difference in the pattern of language choice only with regard to the ≤20 age group on the one hand and the rest of the respondents on the other (see in particular the result of the Duncan grouping).

Age Parameter
Analysis of Variance Procedure

Dependent Variable: X41D

Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
Model	5	3.63003848	0.72600770	1.45	0.2142
Error	104	52.23359788	0.50224613		
Corrected Total	109	55.86363636			

R-Square	C.V.	Root MSE	X41D Mean
0.064980	16.41184	0.708693	4.31818182

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Duncan's Multiple Range Test for variable: X41D
α=0.05 df=104 MSE=0.502246

Duncan Grouping	Mean	N	Age
A	4.750	4	≥ 61
A			
B A	4.476	21	51-60
B A			
B A	4.429	35	41-50
B A			
B A	4.200	10	31-40
B A			
B A	*4.185	27	≤ 20
B			
B	4.000	13	21-30

Figure 5. Facsimile of the ANOVA and Duncan's Multiple Range Test of the overall data on language choice by age group

What should not be left uninterpreted is the fact that the mean scores of language choice in accordance with the downward grading of the age group almost consistently become smaller, an aberration being found with the mean score of the ≤ 20 age group. With one aberration in the mean scores of the language choice, the mean scores form an implicational scale of 83.3% scalability, high enough to be construed as implying that it can be taken without a grain of salt: that the pattern of language choice tends to change along the age parameter, that is, the younger the respondent, the higher the propensity that IL is more frequently chosen *vis-à-vis* BM in the home domain.

In terms of education level, the results of ANOVA and Duncan grouping suggest that the patterns of language choice covary with the education level in the ascending order.

Education Parameter
Analysis of Variance Procedure

Dependent Variable: X41D

Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
Model	4	7.77740943	1.94437486	3.86	0.0057
Error	105	53.41188976	0.50388387		
Corrected Total	110	61.18918919			

R-Square	C.V.	Root MSE	X41D Mean
0.127106	16.51847	0.709848	4.29729730

Duncan's Multiple Range Test for variable: X41D
α=0.05 df=108 MSE=0.503884

Duncan Grouping	Mean	N	Education Level
A	4.923	13	SD
A			
B A	4.500	2	S_2/S_3
B A			
B A	4.467	15	SMTP
B A			
B A	4.239	46	SLTA
B			
B	4.057	35	BA/S_1

Figure 6. Facsimile of the ANOVA and Duncan's Multiple Range Test of the overall survey data on language choice by education level (SD=elementary, S_2/S_3=Master's/PhD degree holders, SMTP=Junior High, SLTA=Senior High, S_1=BA equivalent)

As can be seen in Figure 6, the mean scores form an almost perfect implicational scale, one aberration being found only with regard to the mean score of Master's/PhD degree holders. This aberration could be due to the fact that there were only two respondents in this category; or else it might be due to the fact that they belonged to the older age group, and age is, so it is hypothesised, more dominant than the academic qualification when it comes to language choice.

4.2.2 Observations

The overall mean score of the data on language choice elicited by observations shows a figure of 4.67, which is very high and is comparable to the mean score arrived at by means of the survey questionnaire. This corroborates an earlier finding that Banjarese tend to use BM more frequently than IL in the family domain.

What is worth noting in this regard is the fact that female subjects have a higher propensity to use BM than IL in the family domain, as can be inferred from Figure 7, albeit not significantly. This corroborates the inference drawn from the analysis of language attitude in terms of sex cited earlier.

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Sex Parameter
Analysis of Variance Procedure

Dependent Variable: X36

Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	Pr > F
Model	1	0.34890490	0.34890490	1.05	0.3071
Error	92	30.42769085	0.33073577		
Corrected Total	93	30.77659574			

R-Square	C.V.	Root MSE	X41D Mean
0.011337	12.31414	0.575098	4.67021277

Duncan's Multiple Range Test for variable: X36
α=0.05 df=92 MSE=0.330736

Duncan Grouping	Mean	N	Sex
A	4.719	57	Female
A			
A	4.595	37	Male

Figure 7. Facsimile of the ANOVA and Duncan's Multiple Range Test of the overall survey data by sex of the observation subjects

Other findings show that language choice did not covary with residence, nor did it covary with the topic of the speech event. What seems to be relevant at this juncture is to see whether there was a case in which language choice significantly covaried with kin interlocutors. With grandparents, observation subjects were observed to use BM all the time, with parents they were observed to use BM much more frequently than IL; and among siblings BM is also used more frequently than IL although not as frequently as with parents. This was especially true with subjects in the 21-30 age group or younger.

When speaking with their children, Banjarese younger parents tend to use less BM.

On the basis of the results of the observations by the researcher, it can be generalised that BM is *always* used by Banjarese when speaking to other Banjarese. It should be borne in mind, however, that the subjects observed were all Banjarese who were in the low social brackets. It can be hypothesised that they had no "need" to use IL, as it sufficed for them to use BM. Moreover, there is a view among Banjarese, as alluded to earlier, that to speak IL with fellow Banjarese connotes social climbing (*"Makan bekacak saja pakai bahasa Indonesia"* – "Eating using hands does not match with speaking Indonesian").

Perhaps the following accident can be used to illustrate the "loyalty" of Banjarese in general to their language. In one village road in Alalak, in the suburbs of Banjarmasin, two motorcycles collided. Both drivers fell; one was injured in the leg and the other was not injured, but his wife and baby, who were riding a pillion with him, fell off the motorcycle. As can be expected, the two drivers shouted at each other, arguing vehemently as to whose fault it was – all in BM. In some city in Java, probably a switch to IL would have been the expected case, that is as a means of metaphorical distancing. But the two men kept arguing

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in BM. Even when the researcher interjected using IL, hoping to get a response in the national language, they did not switch to it. It may have been the case that the two motorcyclists believed that switching to IL was only a matter of switching to a formal variety of BM, implying – if this conjencture is correct – that for Banjarese in general BM and IL are simply two stylistic varieties of the same language.

4.3 *Interviews*

As alluded to earlier, interviews were conducted (by the researcher) with a view to specifically finding out if parents speak BM to their children at home. The rationale is that if it is the habitual case, then intergenerational mother tongue continuity (Fishman, 1993) is not at stake, and that therefore mother tongue shift can possibly be eschewed, other things being equal.

The seventeen face-to-face interviews were done in public places. The interviewees include 3 village shopkeepers, 1 young bicycle repairman, 2 *ojek* drivers (i.e. motorcyclists who ply the streets to transport individuals for a fare), 1 boatman, 2 food stall keepers, 3 food stall customers, 2 anglers (who turned out to be very taciturn), 2 female graduates of the Faculty of Law, Lambung Mangkurat University, and 2 hotel employees.

The telephone interviews were done with nine individuals in Banjarmasin city, whose telephone numbers had been provided by someone. Without detailing the positions and status of the telephone interviewees, suffice it to say that all of them, unlike the face-to-face interviewees represented the upper brackets of the social ladder.

Four telephone interviews were conducted in Banjarmasin, the provincial capital, while five telephone interviews were long-distance calls from Jakarta, the state capital. Seven of the telephone interviews were audio-recorded. Despite the poor quality of the recording, the researcher managed to obtain the bits of information needed.

All of the interviewees, most of whom were married and had children, stated that they *always* spoke BM with their children at home or elsewhere. Two fathers stated that they used IL to their children only when helping them with their school homework. The two female graduates, still unmarried, said that when they become mothers they will speak BM to their future children – even if their husbands are not Banjarese.

The inference of the gist of the interviews is that BM is almost always used in Banjarese homes by Banjarese from all walks of life. It also suggests that language loyalty (i.e. loyalty to BM) among Banjarese ethnics is high. It may be due to the fact that they are proud of BM. It may also be that BM, being the *lingua franca* in many parts of Borneo, has carried with it sufficiently high prestige, much longer than IL. It may be inferred from the interviews that BM is a dominant language. Non-Banjarese ethnics in Banjarese have the propensity to accommodate their linguistic behaviours by learning or acquiring BM. The probability that BM is indeed a dominant language among Banjarese families can be inferred from the face-to-face interviews, in which the interviewees reported that a number of their neighbours kept speaking BM in spite of the fact that their spouses were non-Banjarese ethnics.

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5. Concluding Remarks

The findings and discussion in the foregoing section give a cue that to some degree IL has encroached upon BM in the home domain. Given that IL and BM form a diglossia, the situation can be said to be not tightly compartmentalised. A language which in the past, say before the Indonesian independence in 1945, was not used in the home (family) domain is now competing with the traditional language in the same domain. However, it is interesting to note that after over fifty years of Indonesian independence, during which IL has gained popularity and been used in wide-ranging national discourse, BM still resists the penetration of the national language in the home domain.

There are signs that BM is withstanding the encroachment of IL. However, there are also signs that the resistance is being perforated: the diglossia is beginning to leak. At this time, the crack is still not very clearly visible, but it is there anyway. The good thing is that the almost solid positive attitude of Banjarese towards BM is indeed an asset, with which the diglossia crack can be caulked.

To sum up, the diglossic situation in Banjarmasin is still relatively stable. Thus, there is no reason to worry that BM in that city, or in other BM-speaking regions for that matter, is succumbing to the penetration of IL in the home domain, at least not in the next three to four generations. The diglossic situation in Banjarmasin is still better than that in Bali (i.e. Denpasar and Singaraja), in which the leakage is more serious because more and more Balinese younger families speak IL with their children at home (Gunarwan, 2001). At any rate, the situation in Banjarmasin is much better than it is in Lampung, in which the diglossia leakage is so adverse that without serious endeavours to reverse the language shift, the Lampung language is in danger of becoming extinct in three generations (Gunarwan, 1994).

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